1: Nachtigall--152 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

IV. Spiritual Culture

1. Language

121 According to A. v. Humboldt, languages are differentiated by the elements of content and form, and, accordingly, languages are divided into three groups, which in the following period were erroneously interpreted as stages of the development of language. According to this, the oldest stage was represented by the isolating languages, which express form elements by means of independent words with the meaning still recognizable as far as content is concerned. Their words, as in Chinese, are monosyllabic, isolating. The second group is made up of the agglutinative languages, in which the element of form is added to the element of content, the stem, through clearly recognizable affixes. The Ural-Altaic and the Bantu languages in particular are put here. The inflected languages occupy the third stage. In them the form element is expressed by inner changes of the stem or by affixes closely intergrown with the stems, as, for example, in the Indo-Germanic and Hamito-Semitic languages.

Even though this classification of languages was subsequently abandoned as the schema of a sequence of development, it is nevertheless quite applicable as an initial, practical orientation. For the more precise classification of a language, the working out of the phonetics and syntax is required.

197 Paez is an agglutinative language. The grammatical forms
• 193 are built up by a succession of syllables. The pronunciation is difficult for a European. It is similar to Kechua /Quechua/, from which a number of loanwords have been adopted.

175 The oldest linguistic reports about the Paez come from P.
797 Eujenio del Castillo i Orosco, who collected his linguistic material
192 around 1735, as a missionary in Tálaga. It was supplemented and
193 published by E. Uricoechea in 1877. The collected data include
114 a catechism, a vocabulary, and a grammar with information about personal pronouns and the conjugations of "to be" and "to write." The grammar and vocabulary contain some forms and word formations that are alien to the original Paez language.

/216 cont./

114 Further linguistic notes were collected by H. Pittier de
192 Fábrega. These supplemented Castillo's vocabulary and gram-
193 matical data. H. Lehmann published examples of sentences of the Paez from Pitayó collected by French missionaries.

197 /217/ In a comparative study based on the aforementioned
114 publications, H. Beuchat and P. Rivet investigated the linguistic classification of Paez within the language groups of Colombia and classified it in the southwestern group of the six Chibcha language groups. (These Chibcha-speaking tribes correspond neither archeologically nor ethnologically to the true Chibcha (Mwiska) of the savanna of Bogotá!)

124 The linguistic material presented in the following is ex-
126 tremely fragmentary. The data given, however, were for the
197 most part checked several times. The difficulties of linguistic recording lay, aside from the brief time at our disposal, in the lack of grammatical training of the interpreter, who otherwise spoke Spanish very well, but who, during dictation or in translations, often said the same sentence entirely differently when repeating it; possibly because he could translate it better this way. When his attention was called to this, the stereotyped answer was: "One can say it that way, too" or "that is the way we speak." Another thing was that the interpreter was able to summon up the unusual mental concentration for linguistic recording for only two or at most three hours daily, distributed over the forenoon and afternoon.

a) Phonetics

194 As a result of the location of the individual villages in iso-
[197] lated valleys, the pronunciation varies slightly from place to
[124] place. Since we started with the Paez of Calderas in our collection of ethnological data, the following word list was also made with my Calderun interpreter, Victoriano Piñakuč.

In the Paez alphabet the complete palatal range, which includes all consonants, is noteworthy. Almost as numerous are the consonant combinations with the English "w." In the

/220 cont./

194 alike at first, but in reality differ -- aside from context -- in minimal nasal differences in pronunciation. Thus, for example, atc means "I," "today," "ruana," and "digging stick."

Stress is indicated by an accent (ˀ) or by a circumflex. Words without a mark for stress are stressed on the penultimate syllable. An accent (ˀ) between a vowel and the following consonant has sound value and indicates a "glottal stop" (glottal catch).

b) Grammar

● 193 The substantive: There is no article. Gender is not distinguished in words for things and plants. In the case of human beings and animals such a distinction occurs only in exceptional cases, for the terminology for human beings with respect to sex and age or circumstances is so rich in special words that special designations for the sex in general are not required (cf. the kinship nomenclature in the section "Family Organization"). The distinction is not only so exact with respect to human beings, but even maize, for example, is designated by entirely different words, depending on whether it is ripe or still green (kotc or tsot). If a more precise distinction is nevertheless required, the suffixes -pits (man) for the male sex and -ói (woman for the female sex are used, for example, éčpits, "widower," éčoi, "widow." In general, however, these are artificial distinctions which are used primarily for loanwords. In this case one proceeds from the general or typical. Thus, átaly is the "chicken," and it is the rooster that is singled out and distinguished from the chicken by the suffix -pits (átályepítste). "Horse" is regarded as general and is designated as hímba; the special distinctions are himbapítste, "stallion," and himbaóite, "mare." Moreover, the word lečkwe (child) is added as a suffix to designate small living creatures or small things, for example, luč, "child," lučléčkwe "small child"; hímba, "horse," himbaléčkwe, "foal"; átaly, "chicken," atályeléčkwe, "little chicken"; yat, "house," yatléčkwe, "small

/220 cont./

193 house"; witôñ, "tree," wítoñléčkwe, "small tree."

193 601 In the case of kinship nouns, there is a prefix pe- for designating female relatives, for example, pétsots, "father's sister," pěnyok, "mother's sister," "stepmother," "mother's brother's wife." Within the family a dual is designated with the prefix pe-, for example, pětām, "father /221/ and mother together," pěndyík, "father and son together" or "mother and son together," pěndyís, "father and daughter together" or "mother and daughter together."

193 The suffix -nas often designates a state or an activity and is used chiefly to form new words: fisnās, "writer," ātycatynās, "tailor," yāsnās, "baptizer" (name-giver), pāsnās, "stranger, new arrival," ká'nas, "burgomaster," ndōsoknās, "midwife," gnās, "virgin." "To become intoxicated" is toñ, the "drunken man" tónas, "one who is becoming intoxicated" tónye. The forms tátyinas, "creator," and tótenas, "gobernador," are used only in sentences. As an individual word one says tákiyi or tótens, respectively. Possibly the ending -nas is one used only in a specific context, like the suffixes -pas and -sa, which are not infrequently encountered. In the case of adjectives, some in the positive and others in the comparative end in -nas: čačanas (strong), wac nyíčkwenas (more beautiful), wac ēwnas (better).

There is no general plural. For a more precise designation either a number or an indefinite pronoun is added, for example, teč, "one," or in the plural, é'nzí, "both" (from é'nz, "two"), ko, "several," tak, "many." For the plural in connection with persons the suffix -weš is used in part, for example, pítstewes, "people," Mogweš, tribe of Guambiano, čí'mewes, "whites" (čí'me=white).

There is no declension. The sentence order is generally: subject, object, predicate. The nominative is to be distinguished only by its position at the beginning of the sentence. The accusative comes after the nominative and generally before the verb.

Atya na himbása vítepitsna óson, "I this horse this man give," ātya táwas tyaóinat ípak, "I the belt (taw) from this woman (of)

• 193 /221 cont./
received," kwéša éšpas kyéhi óratepa óñwetáw, "we coca at any hour eat," čõosoñ pĩtstečãta mahẽ, yátde oíčãta mahẽ, "in the field men only work, in the house women only work," pálkite táwala kĩma õsya, "in the park many sand fleas there are," but: ãtya evít kyákulása, "I lost this cow" (kula = cow), ãtya pákan teč pésnye, "I receive a present."

The genitive is expressed by its position before the subject. Pĩtste šwáa, "the hat of the man" (šwa = hat), ói táwa, "the belt of the woman" (taw = belt), pĩtste álko, "the dog of the man," tótenas nyó, "the wife of the gobẽrnador."

Negation is generally expressed by met, for example, hip met, "I do not have"; ńéndya, "to like," ńéndyi met, "not to like"; ãtya uwẽt, "I am hungry," ãtya ũwemẽt, "I am not hungry"; ãtya teč nyákča hipt, "I a brother have" (brother = yacté), ãtya teč nyákča /222/ hip met, "I have a brother not"; ãtya teč péšča nyópa, "I a sister not have" (sister = peš; "nyópa" was likewise translated for me as "not have").

Adjective: In the Paez the adjectives follow and do not change with respect to sex and number: yat ĩš, "the old house" pits ĩš, "the old man." The meaning of the adjective is in some cases differentiated more than in German, for example, "strong": pĩtste čãčat, "the strong man," hĩmba čãčat, "the strong horse," but: mbéka põs, "the strong chicha." For "stout," the following adjectives are used: pĩtste nyĩš, "the stout man"; vĩtoñ hõt "the stout tree." Likewise there are different words for young or old, depending on whether it is a matter of men or women.

Comparisons are expressed by wac, "more": hĩmba éw, "the good horse," hĩmba wac éwnas, "the better horse"; ói nyĩčkwe, "the beautiful woman," ói wac nyĩčkwenas, "the more beautiful woman"; ganš, "ugly," wac ganš, "uglier"; wéča, "little," wac wẽ, "less."

/222 cont./

802 Numerals: The cardinal numbers and the ordinal numbers are the same. The decimal counting system is built up on counting with the fingers. The numbers six to nine are compounds with "sáki" (six), whereby seven is formed as "six and two," eight as "six and three." There is no counting beyond ten. For "very many" one says "teč kwat" in Paez, literally "one stone." Today it has the meaning of "hundred."

1	teč	7	é'nzsáki
2	é'nz	8	téksaki
3	tek	9	pánssaki
4	pans	10	kosémba (literally kóse pémba "end of hands")
5	tats		
6	sáki or téčsaki		

● 193 Pronouns: The personal pronouns are absolutely necessary for conjugation. They are put at the beginning. In the first person singular a distinction is made without exception between masculine and feminine; in the second person singular, only in special cases. These cases are the address of spouses to each other, of siblings among themselves, and address to persons of respect. Otherwise there is no distinction according to sex either in the second person singular or in other forms of the singular and plural.

I (masc.): atc; in connection with the verb, ãtya; in the conjugations the suffix -pa, "too /auch, "too, also, likewise"/," is often added to the personal pronouns, ãtypa, "I, too."

I (fem): ỗk.

/223/

193 576 you (masc. and fem.): inc. Young people address older ones neither with "inc" nor with their names. In the case of men, they must first inquire about the name of the man's son (or if he has none, his daughter) and then

/223 cont./

●193 576

address him as "father of ..." If the person concerned has no children, one addresses him, like contemporaries, by his first name, "since a man who has no children is no man."
Older women are respectfully addressed "ĩkf."

193 601

you (father or mother to son): kwe

you (father or mother to daughter): fča

you (wife to husband): fngya

you (husband to wife): fkwe

you (brother to brother or sister to sister): yakté

you (brother to sister): pe's

you (sister to brother): ndyĩš

193 [576]

you (fem.): ĩkf, respectful address for older women

he, she, it: kya

we (masc. and fem.): kweš

they (masc. and fem.): kyáṅweš

you /plural/: not known; in the corresponding translation the word cúkai (all) was sometimes used. In the grammar of Castillo i Orosco, the Paez word "icuexs" (ikweš) is given for "vosotros." The interpreter translated this for me as "Ustedes." It is not used to conjugate verbs.

[114]

The possessive pronouns correspond -- except in the third person singular -- to the personal pronouns. They are placed first.

/223 cont./

193 The masculine forms are:

my	horse	ā̆tc	himba
your	horse	inc	himba
his	horse	kyec	himba
our	horse	kweš	himba
their	horse	kyáṅweš	himba

The feminine forms are:

my	belt	ōk	táwa
your	belt	inc	táwa
her	belt	kyec	táwa
our	belt	kweš	táwa
their	belt	kyáṅweš	táwa

The demonstrative pronouns are: "na" (this) and wíte (literally, "the other") in combination with /224/ "na," before or after, in the sense of "that." Na ā̆tc, "this ruana," wítena ā̆tc,, "that ruana"; na hímba, "this horse," wíte hímbana "that horse." Sometimes the third person singular of the personal pronoun (kya) is used as a demonstrative pronoun.

As an interrogative pronoun "ma" has the meaning of "which" and "how many." Ma hímba, "which horse," ma hímbanaṅg inc uwáy, "which horse did you buy"; ma pits, "which man," ma pítsnaṅg inc ói, "which man did you see"; ma ā̆tc "which ruana," ma ā̆tynak kya om, "which ruana did she weave"; ma ói, "which woman," ma óiweš twétsyo, "which women are walking there," mānstyin, "how many," mans vyó hípong, "how much money have you."

Indefinite pronouns are:

all: cúcai; cúcai pits, "all men,"
cúcai ói, "all women";

each: tečteč (cf. 1 = teč);

both: é'nzi (cf. 2 = é'nz); é'nzi pits, "both men,"
é'nzi ói, "both women";

enough: ā̆hna; ā̆hna vyó, "enough money";

anyone: mā̆pa

/224 cont./

193 no one: tĕčanyópa; tĕčanyópa máhimẽta, "no one is working";

several, various: ko; ãtya ko hímba hípt, "I several horses have";

many: tak; tak nása, "many people";

little: wẽ; very little: táwala wẽha.

193 114 Verbs: The infinitive forms of the verbs end in -ya. The only data thus far published about the conjugation system are to be found in Castillo i Orosco, who conjugates the verb "to write" [177] in all paradigms according to Latin grammar. The word formation of the model verb and the conjugation are artificial and set [797] up for teaching at the mission schools. People do not speak that way in Calderas.

193 124 177 The conjugations of a few verbs given in the following do not represent all the conjugation possibilities, since -- as was mentioned -- the interpreter lacked a knowledge of Spanish grammar. Hence the schema of the paradigms is largely theoretical. Everyday speech is different, and especially in storytelling the interpreter used forms which he reproduced in Spanish with participial constructions. Nevertheless the forms reproduced here are /225/ "correct" in the sense that one "can" speak this way and be understood while using the forms.

193 [124] Besides the four tenses reproduced here (present, future, and two forms of the perfect), there are probably also forms corresponding to the conjunctive, which, however, the interpreter neither understood nor was able to reproduce in Spanish. The forms of the future are not always used. Very often the present is used with the addition of "tomorrow" or "later," for example, ãtya gwágwan kúskay, "I speak tomorrow," instead of ãtya gwágwahípt, "I shall speak." The forms of the two past tenses are apparently used arbitrarily. To my questions on this point I always merely received the answer: "one can say it this way and also that way." Here, too, the addition of óũna, "yesterday" (in context: óũnaha), or esé, "some time ago," is customary.

[126] The abstract, consecutive listing of the forms of a conjugation is hardly possible for the Paez. I always had to make

/225 cont./

193 inquiries with reference to examples that were easily comprehensible.
126 If these lay outside of the context just discussed, I was often requested to provide the appropriate form myself, which I always succeeded in doing with the help of my examples, to the joyful surprise of the Paez. Their confirmation in each case, that "one can say it that way, too," permits me to set down the following
193 paradigms. Phonetic discrepancies are purposely retained, for
128 example, in the second person singular the endings -eg and -eng, in the third person plural the endings -yin or -yen. In the present, the first and third persons singular are generally the same. The personal pronouns for all forms are placed before the verb. In the model verbs the feminine form of the first person singular and the various forms of the second person singular were omitted in favor of the simple masculine forms.

193 ōpya, "to live"

Present:	ātya ōpon	Future:	ātya apohípt
	inç ōponeŋg		inç opohípeneng
	kya ōpon		kya opohípa
	kweš ōpontkaw		kweš opohíptaw
	kyáñweš ōpotyin		kyáñweš opohíptyin

Perfect:	ātya ōpokot	or:	ópnast	(óñnaha)
	inç ōpcing	or:	opnásing	(óñnaha)
	kya ōpok	or:	ópnasa	(óñnaha)
	kweš ōpotaw	or:	ópnastaw	(óñnaha)
	kyáñweš ōpotç	or:	ópnastyin	(óñnaha)

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●193 In like manner óhoya, "to go," is therefore conjugated:

Present:	ātya óhon	Future:	ātya ohohípt	
	inç óhoneg		inç ohohípeneńg	
	kya óhon		kya ohohípa	
	kweš óhontkaw		kweš ohohíptaw	
	kyáńweš óhoyen		kyáńweš ohohíptyin	
Perfect:	ātya óhokot	or:	óhonast	(esé)
	inç óhoing	or:	ohonásiṅg	(esé)
	kyá óhok	or:	ohonása	(esé)
	kweš óhotaw	or:	ohonástaw	(esé)
	kyáńweš óhotç	or:	ohonástyin	(esé)

In like manner úsya, "to give," is conjugated: present: átya úson, inç úsoneńg, etc.

gwábya, "to speak"; here the "b" becomes "g" in the conjugation:

Present: ātya gwágwan
inç gwágwaneńg, etc.
(on another occasion, however, I was given átya gwábal for "I speak").

Perfect:	ātya gwágwakot	(óńnaha)
	inç gwáving	(óńnaha)
	kya gwáok	(óńnaha)
	kweš gwáotaw	(óńnaha)
	kyáńweš gwáotç	(óńnaha)

Future: ātya gwágwahípt
inç gwágwahípeneńg
etc.

/226 cont./

●193 In the future and perfect, básya, "to answer," is conjugated slightly differently:

Present:	ãtya báson		Future:	ãtya basohípt
	inç báson**e**g			inç básma**ng**
	kya báson			kya básmak
	kwe**s** básontkaw			kwe**s** básẽntaw
	kyáñwe**s** básotyin			kyáñwe**s** básmatç
Perfect:	ãtya bást	(esé)		
	inç bási**ng**	(esé)		
	kya bás**k**	(esé)		
	kwe**s** bástaw	(esé)		
	kyáñwe**s** bástç	(esé)		

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Similarly pí́yeya, "to learn":

Present:	ãtya pí́ya'n		Future:	ãtya piyahípt
	inç piyáne**ng**			inç pí́yma**ng**
	kya piyán			kya pí́ymak
	kwe**s** piyántkaw			kwe**s** pí́yẽmtaw
	kyáñwe**s** piyátyin			kyáñwe**s** pí́ymatç
Perfect:	ãtya pí́yt	(ónnaha)		
	inç pí́yi**ng**	(ónnaha)		
	kya pí́yik	(ónnaha)		
	kwe**s** pí́yẽtaw	(ónnaha)		
	kyáñwe**s** pí́yitç	(ónnaha)		

"To be" as an auxiliary verb is not known, but only õsya as a verb in the sense of "to be found."

Present:		Future:
I am in Calderas	ãtya Caldelaste õst	ãtya õsohípt
you are in Calderas	ínçpa Caldelaste õsi**ng**	inç õsohípenen
he is in Calderas	kyápa Caldelaste õsẽn	kya õsohípa
we are in Calderas	kwé**s**pa Caldelaste õstaw	kwe**s** õsohíptaw
they are in Calderas	kyáñwe**s**pa Caldelaste õstyin	kyáñwe**s** õsohíptyin

/227 cont./

193 Perfect:

	ãtya õsot	or:	õsnast
	inç õsoing	or:	õsnasiŋg
	kya õsok	or:	õsnasa
	kweš õsotaw	or:	õsnastaw
	kyáɲweš õsotç	or:	õsnastyin

Formed without auxiliary verbs:

I am	strong:	ãtya čáčat	I am	tired:	ãtya wátyt
you are	strong:	inç čáčaing	you are	tired:	inç wátyenen
he is	strong:	kya čáča	he is	tired:	kya wátyin
we are	strong:	kweš čáčataw	we are	tired:	kweš wátytau
they are	strong:	kyáɲweš čáčatyin	they are	tired:	kyáɲweš wátytyin

"To have," hípoya, which is conjugated normally, serves as an auxiliary verb:

Present:	I have	fleas	ãtya pá'pa hĩpt
	you have	fleas	inçpa pá'pa hípẽneŋg
	he has	fleas	kyápa pá'pa hípẽnen
	we have	fleas	kwẽšpa pá'pa híptaw
	they have	fleas	kyáɲwešpa pa'pa híptyin

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Future:	ãtya hípohĩpt	Perfect:	ãtya hípokot
	inç hípohípeneŋg		inç híponiŋg
	kya hípohípa		kya híponek
	kweš hípohíptaw		kweš hípoktaw
	kyáɲweš hípohítyin		kyáɲweš hípokotç

In like manner, one conjugates:

I have water: ãtya yõ hipt

inç yõ hípẽneŋg, etc.

/Section c), "German-Paez Vocabulary," has been omitted in the translation; see pp. 228-251 of the foreign text./

/318 cont./

105 assumed Chibcha language in particular. The difficulty of language
114 comparison in the northern Andean area lies in the wholely in-
197 adequate material for comparison. The majority of the tribes investigated have died out long ago, and there is seldom sufficiently complete material available from the few living ones. Even the true Chibcha (Mwiska) on the plateau of Bogotá has not been spoken for two and a half centuries and is known only from the literature. Beuchat and Rivet choose the lexicographic and grammatical method for their language comparison. The total vocabulary of the languages investigated contains about 200 words. These serve as comparative material for 49 languages, namely, for true Chibcha (Mwiska) and 23 other languages and dialects in northern Colombia and Panama, as well as for 25 languages and dialects of southern Colombian languages! Methodologically the procedure was to find a lexicographic agreement between language A and language B, another agreement between language B and language C, a further agreement between language C and language D, etc. In the proof, language A is related to languages B,
105 C, D, etc. Applied to Paez: In the vocabulary given by Beuchat
114 and Rivet there is no Paez word in direct agreement with Chibcha!
192 Nor was there even a choice of words according to their qualita-
197 tive significance. Thus it is especially noteworthy that there is a complete lack of corresponding designations for food, animals, useful plants, metals (gold), parts of the body, kinship designations, etc. /319/ On the basis of the vocabulary, therefore, it is not possible to designate Paez as a Chibcha language. To what extent this applies to the other southern Colombian tribes, for whom there usually exists only a very limited vocabulary, cannot be discussed here. In any case, there is a large number of Kechua /Quechua/ words in all these languages -- as a result of the close proximity to Kechua-speaking peoples. (For Paez, cf. the
105 compilations in Castillo i Orosco and Pittier de Fábrega.) Gram-
197 matical agreements between Chibcha and Paez do exist. At the
[114] same time, however, Beuchat and Rivet expressly point out that,
[193] of the languages compared, Paez shows the greatest grammatical differences with Chibcha (pp. 190/191). In summary it may be

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

deserted savannas. It must be said, in extenuation, that they have been subjected to much abuse by their neighbors of the "superior race." Moreover, the Paeces are naturally hostile to strangers, descending, as we have seen, from a warlike people. The old Paeces always went about armed, carrying a lance or javelin in the hand and ready to protect their bodies from the darts of an enemy by means of a shield of basket-work (*epiuá*), or of tapir hide (*yiuba-kát*). The warlike tendencies of the tribe were stimulated by means of periodical contests in which the most valiant warriors fought each other in the presence of the multitude.

To-day, as we have seen, the descendants of these have abundant opportunity to satisfy their fighting propensity by taking sides in the frequent quarrels of the political parties that thus far have kept Colombia in an almost continual turmoil.

Sexual intercourse between Paez women and men of other races is said not to exist; barbarous chastisement would be the fate of the offending female. It is to be expected, however, that the closer contact brought about by the gradual penetration of the Tierra Andentro by whites and negroes will soon overcome the purity of the Paez blood and open the way to amalgamation with the neo-Colombian race.

Reclus, cited above (page 311), gives us to understand that the Paez were cannibals, and the tradition current in the villages along the western foot of the cordillera confirms his intimation with reference to the Pijaos; for the coming of "el Pijao" is still a menace to children. The early chroniclers tell us of several anthropophagous tribes which lived in this region, and it is not unlikely that the Paeces had a share in that custom.

GRAMMATICAL NOTES

Castillo's *Nociones gramaticales* is limited to a list of the personal pronouns and the conjugation of the verbs 'to be' and 'to write.' A few more grammatical indications are incorporated in the vocabularies, but on the whole these data are very meager, and much remains to be done in this direction.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
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epruch	is now	*pen̄*,	old (applied to female only).
isus	" "	*sus*,	urine.
atamp	" "	*taap*,	fog, cloud.

In Castillo's vocabularies *rr* stands for *ɜ*, *z* for *ts* and *tz*, *ch* for *tſ*. The final *h* is used only to prevent the coming together of the consonants *i* or *s* ending a word and the initial vowel of the following word in compound terms. For instance, we have *mɜshs*, for *mɜs-a*, it is not; *izhc* for *its-i*, to join, to marry, etc.

II. — WORD-FORMATION

Remarks. — A few preliminary remarks as to the vocabulary given hereafter are necessary. In a general way it includes only words that are not found in Castillo's work. This is true especially of all isolated terms, but exceptions have been made when one of them is or contains a root of a whole family of words, in which case a few terms have been taken from Castillo's vocabulary and their orthography adapted to our own.

Among those words not included in Castillo's, some have simply escaped him, as, for instance, a number of plant names. But many others are to-day replaced by quite distinct expressions, and this is perhaps one of the strongest indications that the present Paez are in reality a mixture of the remnants of several ancient tribes, like the Paez, the Pijaos, the Jamundies, and probably others, which resulted after Castillo's first survey of the language. As, with the exception of the Paez, we have not even fragmentary vocabularies of the tribes thus amalgamated, it is rather difficult to sustain such an hypothesis with linguistic testimony; but traditions still current and well-known examples of similar cases in other countries can be offered in support of it.

As we have in every case given Castillo's equivalent in the vocabulary, it is needless to reproduce here a list of the differences noted.

Compound Nouns. — The Paez language, like most of the languages belonging to the Chibchan group, has suffixes indicative of form, size, matter, people, etc., that characterize whole classes of words. Castillo's vocabulary being far from exhaustive and written in a somewhat capricious way, it is not always

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easy to determine the words that form such families, and it remains for the future student to systematize and complete them. We are able, however, to give a few examples:

Kuė is indicative of smallness, fragility, and is found also in several terms referring to childhood or parental relations. Examples:

kuė	child.
a-kuė	monkey.
ala-kuė	child.
anî-kuė	nephew.
anî-tsun-kuė	grandson.
afî-kuė	nephew.
doẓ-kuė	nephew.
efî-kuė	orphan (phantom's son).
ñu-kuė	uncle, father's brother.
pe-ñu-kuė	aunt, father's sister.
tuku-kuė (onomatope)	a small dove.
ueza-kuė	girl.
uez-kuė	thread.
witta-kuė	bird.

In the following words, however, the signification of the suffix is not apparent:

ak-kuė	burial.
ciẓ-ka-kuė	ant.
ia-kuė	ceremonial feather-dress.
ka-kuė	body.
imeta-kuė	dorsal spine.
ne-kuė	challenge, contest.
sa-kuė	heart of a tree.

Guė, meaning disease, is found as a suffix in a few known cases:

atta-guė	hectic fever (lit. hot-ache).
buts-guė	smallpox.
iaia-guė	intermittent fever.
su-guė	a medicinal plant.

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Nin signifies a small, round object, and is found in:

ipi-ñin	ember, red-hot coal (lit. fire-seed).
kigue-ñin	clay bullet, used with the blow-gun.
segua-ñin	powder.

The verbal desinence *nàs*, corresponding to the gerund tense, is largely used to form nouns that indicate condition or state, as in the following examples:

aknuk-nàs	coward, from *aknuk*, to be frightened.
atì-kats-nàs	tailor (*atì*, a piece of dress; *kats*, to sew).
do-nàs	lying-in woman (*do*, to bring forth, to give birth).
ƒis-nàs	the writer (*ƒis*, to write).
idɜ-nàs	the one named (*idɜ-a*, to call oneself).
idɜe-nàs	he who baptizes (*idɜ-e*, to baptize).
ikas-nàs	the chief, he who commands (*ikas-a*, to command).
ipons-nàs	he who is powerful (*ipons*, the Pleiades).
ɣip-nàs	the owner (*ɣip*, to have, to own).
ƒang-nàs	he who is sentenced (*ƒang*, to sentence, to condemn).
ƒas-nàs	the stranger, he who arrives (*ƒas*, to arrive).
sikia-nàs	he who knows (*sikia*, to know).
tòte-nàs	the governor, he who talks loud (*tòt*, to yell, to talk loud).
ukoments-nàs	a kind of wasp.

193 It is also found that large groups of compound nouns have the same initial word, generally in the form of a monosyllabic prefix. Among them, two are of peculiar interest, on account of the apparent specialization of the prefixes *nc* and *ƒe*, the first of which seems to indicate only relationship, while the second is still more restrictive and refers almost exclusively to relations between father, mother, and children. The signification of *nc* is obscure; while *ƒe*, used as a prefix before a noun, evidently indicates the coming together of two or of several things or persons. Both groups have been incorporated in the vocabulary, as have a large group of verbs with the same prefix *ƒe*, but which have seemingly no relation to each other.

Formation of Adjectives. — A good number of adjectives also end in *kuć*, but this suffix seems to correspond to a form of the

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verb 'to be,' following what may be a noun or another adjective, and may be regarded as a predicate adjective or denominative verb: 193

ampa-kuė, lean, sad.
dilli-kuė, pretty (Cast.).
dlilli-kuė, pretty (Pitt.).
dzuns-kuė, frail, slender.
its-kuė, lean.
lala-kuė, small.
nu-kuė, small, low, of a river. [192]
o-kuė, plane, even.
pats-kuė, ugly.
pets-kuė, thin, like paper.
uats-kuė, lazy.

It should not be inferred from the scarcity of this class of words in the examples given that the Paez language is lacking in them. On the contrary, a few examples show that, like many other primitive idioms, the Paez distinguishes gradations and categories in the qualities he attributes to an object or to different objects or persons. Thus, Castillo gives four different words for 'thick,' all of which, and one more, are still in use to-day. Now it is found that every one of them has a distinct signification or is applied in distinct cases:

fitse, thick, viscous, semi-liquid (of soup, mud, etc.). [192]
χot, thick (of a tree).
ßil, thick, stout (of a person).
iot, thick, bulky.
tat-a, thick or dense (of a forest, a jungle).

In the same way we have four expressions for 'large' three for 'soft,' etc., but without data to exemplify their use.

Reduplication is frequent in adjectives and seems to correspond to a superlative gradation.

The adjectives for 'young' and 'old' differ according to the sex of the person to whom they apply. The first is translated by *taki* when it applies to males, as in *pits-taki*, 'young man,' and by *kue-nas* when applied to females. 'Old' is *inĭ*, or *tei* [561] when referring to males, and *pcnĭ* (or *e-pcnĭ*) when used for females. [562]

Formation of Verbs. — Owing to the brevity of my stay among the Paez Indians, I felt from the first a certain reluctance to enter into the intricate study of the verbs, fearing that, should 193 114

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193 114 I begin it, I might be induced to accept *a priori* as true apparent rules which would then draw me into further mistakes. My former experience shows that a reliable comprehension of the infinite variations of the verbs, as bearing on flexion, derivation, etc., is not really acquired until one is fully cognizant of the spirit of the language to which they belong and is able to handle this almost as easily as his own.

In consequence of this, the few notes that follow are based mainly on the verbal terms included in Castillo's vocabulary.

193 192 (*a*) *Primitive Verbs.* — We find first that there are terms, expressive of condition, action, or motion, that can be considered as essentially verbal, and could be called, for simplicity's sake, "primitive verbs." Here are a few of them:

di, to sleep	*ùts*, to burn.
gùgu, to run	*fcù*, to beg, to ask.
ios, to fly	*fus*, to stretch.
kis, to fast	*fut*, to breathe.
ktond, to carry	*ti*, to attend, to serve.
o, to eat	*to*, to take, to receive.
ò, to die	*tunt*, to soften, to knead.
òp, to shut, to close	*tet*, to beat, to knock.
os, to give	*tetl*, to lick.
òs, to plant	*tis*, to touch.

ots, to work wood (labrar madera).

It is not unlikely that most of these verbs were originally nouns or adjectives, and that a few of them are still in use as such, although they do not so appear in the vocabulary. The following are given with a nominal, or a qualificative, and a verbal signification, and may be considered as true

(*b*) *Denominative Verbs* — susceptible of all flexions corresponding to person, mode, or time:

ampò-kuè, sad, to be sad.
aftatì, warm; *aftaè*, to be warm (*ò-atì*, to warm one's self).
ios-ò, standing, to be standing.
ipe-inka, thoughtful, to be thoughtful.
ɣuend, laying, to be laying.
paia-hi, careless, to be careless.

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tlilan, hung, hanging, to be hanging.
tl, hiccough, to gasp, to breathe one's last.
is, rut, menstruum, to be in heat (applied to a female animal).
kami, to lie, lie.
kik-ki, light, to dawn.
kit, tooth; *kit-ik*, to lie on the abdomen (estar boca abajo).
ko-ia, food, to cook.
uetla, be merry, to be merry.

(*c*) *Verbal Prefixes.* — But more generally the transition from the adjective or from the noun is indicated by the prefix *i*, the exact sense of which is not clear. Thus —

ne-io, wife;	*i-io*, to marry (when the man marries).
ne-mi, husband;	*i-mi*, to marry (when the woman marries).
puns-a, arm-pit;	*i-puns*, to carry under the arm.
sus, urine;	*i-sus*, to urinate.
tiu, short;	*i-tiu*, to shorten.

Sometimes the radical word is already a verbal form, as in —

i-pi-nas-a, to be jealous, to accuse; derived from *nas-a*, to hit.
i-pot, to smell like; derived from *pot*, to stink.

In other cases of this class the prefix is *pe*, or *ka*, the meaning of which is equally obscure:

finis, to fix, to nail;	*pe-fiu*, to put together.
kit, a tooth;	*pe-kit*, to masticate.
tlantl, to suck;	*petlantl*, to suck.
gügu, to run;	*ka-gú*, to roll down.
itse, to join;	*ka-itse*, to join, to put together.
kond, to break;	*ka-kond*, to carry off violently.
pang, to sentence;	*ka-pangó*, to punish.

III. — Parts of Speech

A. — *The Noun*

1. *Gender of Nouns.* — When gender is indicated, it is usually by means of suffixing the word *pits*, male, or *ui* (Cast. *oi*), female. Examples:

atall-pits, rooster;	*atall-ui*, hen.
de-pits, lover;	*de-ui*, sweetheart, concubine.

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193 192 This rule, however, applies only to persons or animals. Plants and inanimate objects have no gender, so far as known. Moreover, many usual terms, mostly personal, have distinct forms according to sex. We have for instance:

doχ-kuĕ, nephew;	*doχ-niś*, niece.
inĭ, grandfather;	*nentĭ*, grandmother.
e-ĭt / *ne-ĭ*, father;	*ne-sĭ*, mother.
ne-mi, husband;	*ne-ûi*, wife.
ne-tson, brother-in-law;	*ne-soñ*, sister-in-law.
sat, cacique, chieftain;	*eĭa*, woman principal, cacique's wife.

2. *Number of Nouns.*—The prefix *fe*, already alluded to, may be considered as indicating duality; at least such is distinctly the case in the following instances:

fe-ndii, to be or to go together sister and brother.
fe-niĭ, son and father, or mother and daughter.
fe-fcĭ, to be or to go together brother and sister.
fe-tam, male and female, together.
fe-tsik, son and mother, or son and father, together.

Plurality seems to be indicated in most instances simply by means of the determinative *uci* or *guci*, many, except in the case of nouns designating persons, when the suffix *ucĭ*, or *gucĭ*, is used. But the same suffix appears also as a distinctive of collectivity, so that this point is not altogether clear. We have:

pits, man;	*pits-ucĭ*, men.
tcĕ, adult;	*tcĕ-ucĭ*, adults.

But also

E-it-ucĭ hus afiatĭ meng-a? Did you annoy your father? (Lit. Did you make your father's hea t hot?)
father heart hot made

193 601 3. *Double Gender.*—It is interesting to find in the Paez language a few cases of what De la Grasserie in a recent work[1] calls "double gender," i. e., nouns that express in a single word the sex of the person who speaks and the sex of the person

[1] Raoul de la Grasserie *De la Catégorie du Genre*, Paris, 1906.

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spoken of. These nouns all have reference to parental relations:

dii, brother of a sister.
epei, sister of a brother.
iak-ti, elder sister of a sister.
ne-iak, younger sister of a sister.
ne-udii, brother of a brother.
ne-tei, elder brother of a brother.
pe-ti, younger brother of a brother.

B.— *The Adjective*

As in all languages of the Chibchan group, the Paez adjectives are invariable in gender and in number. The lists at hand are poor and incomplete, but the little we have seems to show a great choice of expressions to indicate degrees or shades in the use of qualificatives.

The superlative gradation seems to be indicated only by the adverb *atka*, 'very,' placed before or after the adjective. There is apparently no way to express a comparison.

C.— *Pronouns*

Our data on this subject are also very meager, and so incomplete that we are at a loss how to give any definite explanation.

In his *Nociones gramaticales*[1] Castillo gives a table of the personal pronouns, from which we infer that there are two forms, according to gender, for both the subjective first and second person of the singular number. From the texts given by the same author, we also deduce that all the personal pronouns are used as possessive, and those of the third person as demonstrative.

In the conjugation of verbs the subject appears to be expressed chiefly by means of a suffix.

Following is Castillo's table:

I	Masc. *anki, anti* Fem. *oku*	we	*kuc-k-uči, kuc-k-u, ku-k-uči*
thou (you)	Masc. *inui* Fem. *itka*	you	*in-k-uči, i-k-uči*
he, that	Masc. *kina, kiana* ?	they, those	*kina-k-uči*

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193 The middle *k* of the plural forms is inserted apparently for the sake of euphony.

D.—*The Verb*

[121 114] As explained above, I did not endeavor to collect material for the study of verbs, by reason of the limited time at my disposal. Castillo's data are also very defective, but the paradigms presented by him as examples of conjugations are sufficient to afford an insight into the mechanism of conjugation. We reproduce the principal tenses with the object of showing that the verbal modifications referring to person, mode, and time, consist of a combination of the verbal root with the copulative or substantive verb and a suffix or ending that expresses the person. Our spelling differs somewhat from that used by [114] Friederich Müller,[1] who had no practical experience with the language:

(1) To be:

	Singular	Plural
	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki-ɨ*, I am;	*ku-k-uel ta-u*, we are;
2d p.	*inui-ng*	*ik-uel ik-u*
3d p.	*kinà-a*	*kinà-(g-)uel i-a.*
	Perfectum	
1st p.	*anki-kil*, I was;	*ku-k-uel ta-u id*, we were;
2d p.	*inui-ng-id*	*ik-uel nek-u id*
3d p.	*kinà-k-id*	*kina-g-uel ta id.*
	Futurum	
1st p.	*anki-net*, I shall be;	*ku-k-uel net-ka-u*, we shall be;
2d p.	*inui-neng*	*ik-uel nek-u*
3d p.	*kinà-nen*	*kina-k-uel pat-in.*

(2) To write, or to paint, *fis*:

	Præsens	
1st p.	*anki fis-ats-ɨ*, I write;	*kuɨ-k-u-fis-ats-ta-u*, we write;
2d p.	*inui fis-ats-eng*	*ik-uel fis-ats-ku-a*
3d p.	*kina fis-ats-k*	*kina-g-uel fis-ats-id.*

[1] *Grundriss der Sprachwissenschaft*, Bd. II, 358, Wien, 1882.

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Perfectum

1st p.	*anki-t fis*, I wrote;	*kut-k-uet ta-u fis*, we wrote;
2d p.	*imi-ng fis*	*ik-uet ik-u fis*
3d p.	*kinà-k fis*	*kinà-g-uet tink fis.*

Futurum

1st p.	*anki fis an-et*, I shall write;	*kut-k-uet fis an-et ka-u*, we shall write;
2d p.	*imi fis an-eng.*	*ik-uet fis an-ek*
3d p.	*kina fis an-en*	*kinà-g-uet fis a-tin.*

Castillo gives two more forms for the Præsens:

1st p.	*fis ats-it*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis ats-i-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis ats-ing*	*fis ats-ik-ua*
3d p.	*fis ats-ik*	*fis ats-i-ta*

and

1st p.	*fis u-op-t*, I am writing, or painting;	*fis op-ta-u*, we are (etc.);
2d p.	*fis op-nga*	*fis u-op-kua*
3d p.	*fis u-op-a*	*fis u-op-ta.*

The infix *ats* is an affirmative particle; *ôp* is a kind of auxiliary verb, corresponding with 'to be,' or 'to have.' The *k* and *g* of the plural forms (1st and 3d pers.) are simply euphonic intercalations.

The imperative tense is often formed by prefixing or suffixing *mã*, with a frequent elision of the *ã*, as in the following examples:

Tund-c-mã! Run! (Hurry up!)
Tata mã-palla! Go (and) call (your) father!
Atta-mã! Go away!
Kla m-ue (*mã-ue*)! Catch the cow!
Io m-pès! Give (me) water!
Mi-io! Come!

E. — *Borrowed Words*

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(1) *From the Spanish.* — As might have been expected, we find in Paez quite a number of Spanish words, most of which are included in the following list:

601 19 — *Sun* . . . . . kuo-d-co; co-d-kuo; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-m; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-m.

20 — *Sub* . . . . . kua-d-co; co-d-kuo-d-co; co-d-kuo; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-m; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-m.

B--Feminine Ego (see Fig. 2)

1 — *Nemi* . . . . . co.

2 — *Iaksi* . . . . . kua; ka-d-kua-d-p; ka-d-kua-d-p; ka-d-kuo-d-m; ka-d-kua-d-m; co-d-kuo-d-co.

3 — *Jish* . . . . . kuo; ka-d-kuo-d-p; ka-d-kua-d-p; ka-d-kuo-d-m; ka-d-kua-d-m.

4 — *Sub* . . . . . kuo-d-co; co-d-kua-d-co; co-d-kua; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-p; co-d-ka-d-kuo-d-m; co-d-ka-d-kua-d-m.

5 — *Chinás* . . . . kuo-d-co; co-d-kuo; co-d-ko-d-kuo-d-p; co-d-ko-d-kua-d-p; co-d-ko-d-kuo-d-m; co-d-ko-d-kua-d-m.

The remaining kinship terms are common for masculine and feminine EGO.

Additional Observations

193 601 A father, in referring to his children of both sexes, places the possessive my (anji) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Anji kué (my son); anji jikuesh (my sons).
Anji wásak (my daughter); anji wasakuesh (my daughters).
Anji nson (my grandson); anji nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

A mother, in referring to her children of both sexes, places the possessive my (uk) in front of the kinship term, thus:

Uk kué (my son); uk kuémuesh (my sons).
Uk wásak (my daughter); uk wásakuesh (my daughters).
Uk nson (my grandson); uk nsonmuesch (my grandsons).

/175 cont./

193 601 In like manner, the children, in referring to their parents, place in front the possessive anji or uk, according to whether the speakers are male or female, respectively.

Anjí téwesh (my parents, male speaker).
Uk tewesh (my parents, female speaker).
Anji ishiwesh (my grandparents).
Uk ishiwesh (my grandparents).

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557 576 609 Non-relatives designate the grandparents: nesh wála. When a speaker is younger than the person referred to, and that person is a father, the correct way to speak of him is "the father of so-and-so," for example: if our informant Victoriano Piñakué (18 years old) wants to refer to Cerveleón Guagás (55 years old), he does not simply mention him by name, because this is a "grosería" /rudeness/, but he says "the father of Alfonso" (who is his eldest son), Pons nei, or Marcelo nei if he refers to the father of Marcelo. If the first-born is dead, he would say unás nei, father of the deceased. If the speaker is older than the person referred to, he may simply call him by name, but only when there is familiarity between the two; otherwise he must use the form previously mentioned. Thus, for example, Vicente Puche, who is older then Julián Piñakué (father of our informant), and since he is familiar with him, simply calls him Kilián; if he were not, he would say Vit nei (father of Victoriano). The identical form is followed for a woman older than the speaker, for example: Pons nihi (mother of Alfonso); Vit nihi (mother of Victoriano); Unás nihi (mother of the deceased).

If our informant Piñakué wishes to express this thought, "Cerveleón, I want something," he must say, "Father of Alfonso, I want something" (Pons nei tech yugũe guau wet). He may call him simply Cerveleón, but far away from him and when he is among people who are not relatives, but, he adds, this is not respectful. If Cerveleón heard this said, he would be annoyed.